1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

[P. 19a]

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The son-in-law always rides horseback on this occasion. If the distance is great, the two companions will also ride horseback; if it is short they will go on foot. They lead the horse which the bride will mount. This horse must be a mare or a stallion; if it is a mare, it cannot be pregnant. The horse's trappings are of no importance. They have been careful to put a bag full of straw on the horse's mane, on which the bride will lean during the whole trip; a rug or a piece of red felt covers the saddle; the horse wears small bells. The companions drag along a two-year-old sheep, which they will offer to the family upon their arrival. (1)

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1. Shirokogoroff, Social Organization of the Manchus, p. 77: When the day of wedding is fixed, they send invitations written on red paper to all relatives and honorary guests....All acts concerning the wedding ceremonies, invitations of the guests, presents and so on must be registered in a special book and made according to the calendar and hours fixed in advance....

The day before the day of the wedding, they go to bring the bride to the bridegroom's father's house... in a special carriage.... As soon as the carriage is ready for the road, the bridegroom kneels down in front to "inbe" (wooden screen put in the yard) and several times touches the soil soundly with his forehead. They burn as incense the Chinese ajen hen, fixed in a cup with the black beans, that have generally a very important part during the wedding ceremony.... Usually they leave the bridegroom's house in the afternoon calculating to arrive at the bride's house before the

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587 [604] The customary proceedings of the marriage of a widow then are very simple; the maternal uncle who plays the most important role at the marriage of girls does not even appear. The great preoccupation of the T'ou-jen in the marriage of a widow is to take her away from a rival /94/ and to conduct her without let or hindrance to her new domicile.

6. Two Typical Abductions of Widows

587 583 The following incidents throw a true light on the T'ou-jen way of thinking concerning the marriage of widows.

At the place Souo-pou-keou lived a widow of a certain Hla Rong. A Tchang of Ki-kia-lin, wishing to marry her, learned that he was too late; the widow had already given her consent to another and had exchanged tokens with him. Tchang wanted her at any price. He proposed therefore to abduct her by force, then to get in touch with the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow to give them the earnest. If such affairs are taken to court, reimbursement of the earnest is required from the abductors, then the woman is [671] granted to them. These abductions are thus recognized by the law. Tchang calls upon the help of about 30 trustworthy men, well armed, to take away the widow from the hands of his rival's band the night when the rival would take her to his home. The abductors were at their post, but the other band did not arrive. Believing therefore that they had been fooled, they decided to go to the widow's house, take it by assault, and abduct the widow.

Tchang counted as head of his band the widow's nephew, who could inform them about the arrangement of the house. They burst into the courtyard, they force the doors, they gag the woman, four of them carry her outside, they put her on the horse, and they flee [492] hurriedly. Meanwhile the nephew had been taking care of the dogs and had opened the great door.

The journey went on in the greatest silence. After 15 kilometers of forced march they arrived home, removed the gag from the woman, and untied her hands. What was their surprise when in

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2: Schram--1971-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

Young T'ou-jen woman, given in marriage to a Tibetan family. The father-in-law is riding the richly accoutered horse and the mother-in-law has the baby in her arms. The whole group wears Tibetan costume.

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792 bread have been placed in a pyramid and crowned with a red
796 date; a little box with tschürra (dry curds) for kneading tsamba;
574 a number of small [37] plates with black and white sugar, candy
[262] sugar, currants, and dates; a number of small plates of goods baked with sugar and oil. -- Later, when the lama performs his ceremonies, the things are cleared away so that an empty table is at his disposal.

Hutukhtus or higher lamas send ordinary, serving lamas to the people a few days in advance to prepare the room and the things needed for the ceremonies. They also help in the kitchen because they know best which dishes their hutukhtu prefers. They
[492] also see to it that the riding animals of the monastery are properly accommodated.

The fetching of the lama: On the stipulated day the young men and boys of the village set out for the lamic monastery with the most beautiful and fastest horses. Some of them ride all the way to the monastery itself; some wait halfway. The hutukhtu
[492] always rides on his own animal; it must be a white horse. The other lamas, on the other hand, may use any animals available.

When at the halfway point the lama meets the troop that has come to fetch him, the oldest man steps forward and hands the lama a hada. He accepts it and touches the kneeling man's forehead. Then the youngest with the fastest horses leap into the saddle and ride ahead at a wild gallop in order to announce the news of the lama's arrival in the village. The lama likewise tries to follow at a rapid pace. Only the old lamas take their time. This fetching is called single fetching. Sometimes the fetching is done in two or three stages; then it is called double or triple fetching. Each time the ceremonies of handing over the hada and of the blessing are repeated. In the case of the third troup, however, the fetchers are on foot, for they only go just outside the village.

Reception: As soon as the messengers come riding in, the entire village gathers in front of the house that has invited the lama. All are wearing their best clothes. On the threshing

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

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A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]